Stalin and Germany—*J. Alvarez del Vayo*

THE Nation

April 12, 1952

South African Madness

An On-the-Spot Report

BY E. S. SACHS

*

Stevenson of Illinois

BY ALAN WHITNEY

*

Morris, McGrath—and Hoover

AN EDITORIAL

*

A New Art Column by *S. Lane Faison, Jr.*

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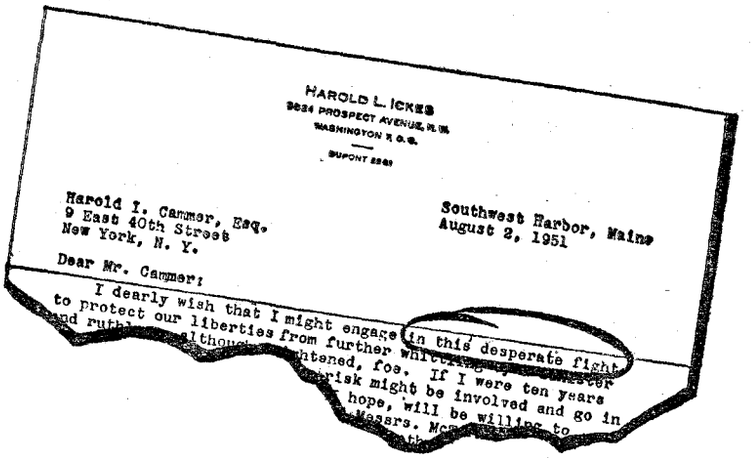
"this desperate fight . . ."


HAROLD L. ICKES
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WASHINGTON 7, D. C.
DUPONT 2345

Harold I. Cammer, Esq.
9 East 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Southwest Harbor, Maine
August 2, 1951

Dear Mr. Cammer:

I dearly wish that I might engage in this desperate fight to protect our liberties from further whittling . . . or heightened, foe. If I were ten years risk might be involved and go in hope, will be willing to

What the 2nd Big Foley Square Trial means to you.

THE LATE HAROLD L. ICKES SAID:

". . . this trial may well prove to be one of the most important constitutional lawsuits of our time."

Standing in the dock before Judge and Jury in Foley Square Federal Court are 16 New Yorkers . . . your fellow Americans . . . on trial—charged with violating the Smith Act.

These Communists *are not* the only ones on trial. You . . . your ideas, your thoughts, your liberties . . . are on trial, too!

In an historic letter expressing regret that he was not physically strong enough to join the legal staff of the 16 defendants, Harold L. Ickes wrote:

"I dearly wish that I might engage in this desperate fight to protect our liberties from further whittling . . ."

Thinking of his own two children, Ickes emphasized the grave danger in the Smith Act in these words:

"I also owe them whatever I am reasonably capable of doing . . . to preserve for them and their children the liberties that you and I have been able to enjoy, and felt assurance of, until the unfortunate majority opinion was handed down by the Supreme Court in the earlier Communist (Smith Act) *Case."*

- **The Smith Act nullifies the Constitutional right of free speech and free press.**
- **None of these 16 defendants has been charged with criminal acts.**
- **They have been charged only with such acts as mailing letters, attending meetings, writing articles, etc.**
- **If convicted, they face long prison terms.**
- **If convicted, all our Constitutional rights and liberties will be in jeopardy!**

The swift repeal of the Smith Act is a sheer necessity for the maintenance of the Bill of Rights.

Yet, such repeal can be hastened and assured only by you—the people. The distinguished journalist, I. F. Stone, said of this case:

". . . The Smith Act may begin to be 'repealed' in the court. There is a fighting chance, if not for acquittal, then for reversal on appeal."

●

A FIGHTING CHANCE! WILL YOU TAKE IT? WILL YOU HELP US ASSURE A COURTROOM VICTORY? WILL YOU HELP US TO START THE REPEAL OF THE SMITH ACT IN THE COURTS?

We urgently need your full support!

Such support requires taking no position on the political program of the defendants. It requires only the defense of their Constitutional rights as Americans. And by defending their rights we defend the rights of ALL Americans!

FUNDS ARE NEEDED for legal expenses, to issue literature, to sponsor radio broadcasts, to print advertisements, pamphlets and leaflets, and to utilize other media to inform and arouse the people to preserve their rights and liberties. **CONTRIBUTE NOW!**

ACT To Repeal the Smith Act!

FILL OUT COUPON AND MAIL TODAY!

Clifford T. McAvoy, Chairman
CITIZENS EMERGENCY DEFENSE CONFERENCE
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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

FRENCH COLONIALISM HAS LEARNED LITTLE from the loss of Syria and Lebanon, little even from the bloody stalemate in Indo-China. When the French authorities in Tunisia arrested the Premier and several ministers, declared martial law, and forced the aged Bey to accept a pro-French Premier, they appeared to believe that their *coup de main* had settled things. Acting briskly, Jean de Hauteclocque, the Resident General, had himself appointed Foreign Minister, while the new Premier, M. Baccouche, searched for men willing to join a Cabinet set up to do French bidding. At the same time, and in the same tradition, de Hauteclocque came up with a program of domestic reform, offering an approach toward internal autonomy by very slow stages, while retaining for France many special powers including a veto over the decisions of Tunisian ministers. By completing these moves with brutal speed, France checkmated the Asian and African countries sponsoring a complaint to the Security Council that French rule in Tunisia represented a threat to international peace and security. Their request for a debate was lost without a vote when the United States delegation received orders from Washington not to support it. But the issue is far from closed. There will be more trouble in Tunisia and more protests in the U. N. As the Chairman of the Council, Dr. Ahmed Bokhari of Pakistan, said in a bitter, indignant speech from the floor: "To whom else can the Tunisians come if not the United Nations? . . . What is the United Nations for?" Once more the dictates of Atlantic diplomacy have aligned the United States with the colonial powers; Russia, Nationalist China, Chile, Brazil, and Pakistan were prepared to support the Tunisian complaint. Washington's role will not be admired in those countries it hopes to save from "neutralism" and the blandishments of Moscow.

*

THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARIES IN NEBRASKA and Wisconsin seem to have pleased everyone: Taft is elated; the Eisenhower leaders are "optimistic"; Warren is satisfied, Stassen cheerful. The results were not surprising. Both states are part of Taft's ideological terrain. Taft also enjoyed the benefit of powerful organized support, and his investment in time, energy, and funds was enormous. Neither state has a significantly large independent or "shifting" vote; there was little crossing of party lines. Under the circumstances Taft's vote was sufficiently large to keep him in the running but not large enough to offset the advantage Eisenhower currently enjoys. The ludicrously opportunistic Mr. Stassen—the Republican vote-splitter—was naturally pleased to make any showing at all, even if his intervention in Wisconsin gave twenty-four delegates to Taft. The candidate who has the most reason to be pleased with the Wisconsin primary is Governor Earl Warren, who kept expenditures to a minimum in the campaign. He was a late starter; his campaign was hastily improvised; he had to commute from Sacramento; and his delegates were a hybrid lot. Yet he picked up six delegates, made no enemies, and with the aid of those experienced campaigners, his two daughters, left a pleasant impression. Warren is certain to be a powerful figure in the Republican convention; indeed his influence could be decisive. Senator Kefauver also has good reason to be gratified: in Wisconsin he picked up an important delegation for a minimum investment and in Nebraska he not only defeated Senator Kerr by an impressive margin but knocked the Oklahoman out of the race. As a candidate Kefauver warrants much more serious consideration than he has received to date; he knows when to box and when to punch. His two-fisted attack on Kerr in Nebraska was perfectly timed and left little to be desired on the score of frankness.

*

LANCASHIRE'S COTTON INDUSTRY FOUND the boom it had been riding shot from under it at the end of last year and now seems headed for an alarming bust. According to Anthony Greenwood, Lancashire Labor M. P., who called the attention of the House of Commons to the situation recently, 70,000 workers, between one-fifth and one-fourth of the industry's labor force, are now unemployed or working part-time. Many mills have shut down, and others are working for stock and will have to close soon unless buying revives. But apart from some accelerated government orders, it is difficult to see where new business will come from. Depression in the textile industries—wool is as hard hit as cotton, and even synthetics are feeling the pinch—is now world-wide. Unemployment in New England is at least as severe as in Lancashire, and similar tales of woe are being heard in Belgium, Canada, Japan, and Australia. The immediate trouble in textiles appears to

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be the aftermath of the unprecedented boom which followed the outbreak of the Korean war. Manufacturers then rushed to obtain raw materials, egged on by ill-timed Washington announcements of large-scale government stockpiling; wholesalers and retailers built up inventories frantically; consumers bought with both fists, remembering the textile famine during the last war. When the scare subsided, linen closets, wardrobes, and bureau drawers were well filled, and even big price concessions failed to move goods. This is the short-term position, which presumably will be gradually alleviated if other sections of the economy remain prosperous. However, the textile industries also face serious long-term problems involving such factors as the tendency of manufacturing to shift, nationally and internationally, to cheaper labor markets and the effect of the development of synthetics on natural fibers. In the near future we plan to publish two articles by Keith Hutchison discussing both the immediate situation in textiles with emphasis on the American scene, and the outlook for the future.

Morris, McGrath, & Hoover

PUBLIC discussion of the Morris-McGrath fiasco has not yet penetrated to the basic issue nor has the key figure been publicly identified. The issue may be simply stated. Investigation has shown corruption to be fairly widespread in certain federal agencies and in the legislative branch. But aside from the abortive Morris affair, the investigations have been under the exclusive control of Congressional committees whose members, regardless of party affiliation, have upheld a dual standard of ethics: one for government officials, another for Representatives and Senators. When Grunewald's relations with Charles Oliphant were under scrutiny, the questions came thick and fast, but when his relations with Senators Brewster and Bridges were accidentally brought to light, the discussion became polite and meaningless.

If it was unrealistic to expect McGrath to authorize a real investigation of the Department of Justice, it is equally unrealistic to expect Congress to investigate itself. And just as it would be dangerous to permit roving Congressional committees to harass the Administration by endless investigations, so it would be dangerous to permit the Executive to keep members of Congress under a surveillance which could be used for political purposes. Nor should a permanent law-enforcement agency like the FBI be assigned the job of investigating corruption in either branch of the government. The FBI must seek appropriations from Congress; moreover, it is conceivable that some corruption might be found in the Bureau itself, not to mention the department to which it belongs.

Presumably it was with these thoughts in mind that Truman approved the appointment of Morris as an in-

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dependent investigator. But the President had not reckoned with J. Edgar Hoover. It is now clear that from the first Hoover wanted his FBI to *participate* in any investigation and at the same time to be itself *immune* from investigation.

Hoover began to show signs of uneasiness the moment Newbold Morris was appointed. His uneasiness became more apparent after March 10, when it was revealed that Mr. Morris did not intend to rely upon FBI investigators and that he had failed to appoint alumni of the FBI to his staff. Hoover's uneasiness seems to have been immediately communicated to certain Senators and Representatives, who would probably have shared his feeling, however, without any prompting. One might have expected anti-Administration elements in Congress to support an independent investigation of corruption in the executive branch of government conducted by an able Republican lawyer, the more so since there was good reason to believe that Mr. Morris meant business. To be sure, Mr. Morris had said that *all* public officials, including Congressmen, who earned more than $10,000 should fill out a pesky questionnaire about net financial worth, but the Congressional opposition has another explanation.

In a broadcast on March 16 Walter Winchell suggested that Max Lowenthal, author of a book on the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover's pet hate, had recommended Newbold Morris for the job of chief investigator. A few days later Representative George A. Dondero repeated the statement. These were the individuals who had previously raised the hue and cry that Lowenthal was attempting to engineer the removal of McGrath (see, The White House Under Surveillance, *The Nation,* February 16, 1952). Both men are cronies of Mr. Hoover's. Their new theme was immediately picked up by David Sentner of the Hearst press. Then, on March 18, Representative Patrick H. Hillings complained that Mr. Morris had not been cleared by the FBI. A few days later Senator Pat McCarran demanded an investigation to determine who had recommended Morris, and finally Representative Francis E. Walter proposed that the entire corruption inquiry be turned over to the FBI.

It did not take Mr. Morris long to realize the source of his difficulties. On March 19 he told the press that the one unit of the Department of Justice he did *not* intend to investigate was the FBI, and he went out of his way to say that questionnaires were not being sent to FBI personnel. He never explained just why J. Edgar Hoover should not fill out the same questionnaire he had asked the Attorney General to answer. In the same interview Mr. Morris carefully denied that Lowenthal had prepared the famous questionnaire. Even these elaborate assurances, however, failed to quiet Mr. Hoover's strange fears. When McGrath read his curt dismissal of Morris to the reporters, he was conspicuously flanked by the top G-man.

Although J. Edgar's support was not sufficient to keep Mr. McGrath from being fired, he was able to block an independent investigation. The newly appointed Attorney General, James Patrick McGranery, in his first statement to the press, announced that he would rely upon the FBI to investigate corruption in government and that there would be no "outside" aid. Nor will any use now be made of the Morris questionnaire. Nor will an investigation be made of the FBI or of the need to place its entire personnel under civil service. Thanks to McCarthy, McCarran, and Nixon, aided by J. Edgar Hoover, the investigation has not merely been set back to where it was two months ago—it has been blocked.

The "resignation" of McGrath is the one net gain of the investigation to date. *The Nation* was one of the first publications to suggest that his removal would be definitely in the public interest. "I have done my duty," he now says, "I have stood up for what I believe to be great principles of personal liberty and the fundamental rights of employees of the federal government." It is a measure of McGrath's candor and intelligence that he should ask the public to believe that the filling out of a simple questionnaire on net worth would jeopardize personal liberty and the fundamental rights of federal employees. Presumably it is perfectly proper to cross-examine citizens on their political beliefs, to force federal employees who are not Cabinet officers to take test oaths,

Vote Your Choice for President in *The Nation's* Poll

EARLY RETURNS indicate widespread interest in the preferential ballot for President printed in last week's issue of *The Nation.* Have you mailed your ballot yet? If not—and you cannot obtain another copy of last week's *Nation*—write us a postcard immediately asking for a ballot. We can send only one ballot to each reader. All ballots postmarked not later than April 25 will be counted; so you still have time. Address Poll Editor, *The Nation,* 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York. And watch next week's issue for first returns.

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and to turn Congressional inquiries into savage witch-hunting forays. No Attorney General since A. Mitchell Palmer has had a worse record on the score of protecting personal liberties and the fundamental rights of government employees than McGrath. But it was in his remarks on March 16 to the Sons and Daughters of Fire, when he implied that he was being investigated because of his "faith and race," that McGrath revealed his true colors. This crude attempt to use religion as protective political coloration was of a piece with the suggestion that a request for financial information from public officers might undermine the Bill of Rights.

As for Mr. McGrath's successor, it should be noted for the record that Philadelphia's District Attorney Richardson Dilworth, a Democrat, has protested his appointment in these words: "The appointment of McGranery as Attorney General of the United States is so bad as to be almost unbelievable. For the regime of McGranery will be marked by incompetence, bias, favoritism, and ward politics at its worst."

Only an independent inquiry by a commission appointed for the special purpose, with authority to select its own staff and under orders to disband upon completion of its work, can cope with the issue of corruption as it has arisen in this instance. Instead of facing the problem and drawing the obvious conclusion, the President has surrendered to his enemies in Congress, aided and abetted by Mr. Hoover, and has thereby forfeited the chance to turn the corruption issue to his own and his country's advantage.

Stalin and Germany

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

STALIN'S message to the American editors, his farewell statement to the Indian Ambassador, the announcement at the Moscow economic conference of Russia's readiness to expand foreign trade with capitalist countries, all indicate that the Kremlin is prepared to apply the formula of "total diplomacy," once advocated by Secretary Acheson, at every point where the possibility of negotiation still survives. But this series of moves did not alter the fact that Moscow's note of March 10 marked the start of a new Russian policy on Germany.

The Soviet note has had an electric effect on those who consider the rearmament of Germany, whether undertaken by the Russians or the Americans, to be the most threatening development of the cold war. But it is not enough merely to record one's disapproval; it is also necessary to recall the circumstances under which the shift in Russia's policy took place. Otherwise the gravity of this most important event will be missed.

From the beginning Germany has been the focus of East-West conflict—the place where a truce could be achieved or the two sides must confront each other in dangerous proximity on terms excluding any agreement. But matters took a turn for the worse only last fall, when it became clear that the rearmament of West Germany had become the central item of American strategy. On the opening of the Sixth United Nations Assembly in Paris last November, I wrote that Moscow would revise its policy should it become convinced that the United States was determined to reject all negotiation on Germany out of fear that any kind of talk with the Russians would endanger the American military program. The Russian note of March 10 was the product of just such a revision of policy, as will be all Russia's moves in the coming months. The note reflected no transitory state of mind; it was neither improvisation nor fleeting maneuver; it was a major action resulting from long and earnest deliberation.

Moscow's conviction that the United States had turned its back upon negotiations as a means of settling the German problem was buttressed by a long series of events: the conference at Lisbon, the breakdown of French resistance to the rearmament of Germany, the mounting probability that General Eisenhower—the man of NATO—would be the next President of the United States, the State Department's aggressive disapproval of American participation in the Moscow Economic Conference, which had been called precisely for the purpose of attracting business men from the United States.

After analysis of the international situation in January and February had convinced the Soviet leaders that there was no likelihood of a change in the American attitude, they concentrated on handling the German problem in a way that would completely disrupt Washington's German policy. That they must have expected their proposals of March 10 to be rejected was indicated by the comments of the Soviet press and radio before the reply was received. But they could reasonably expect that the European members of the Atlantic coalition, beginning with Mr. Churchill, would insist—as in fact Mr. Churchill did—on an answer preserving at least the appearance of a desire for a settlement. In other words, the Russians could count on a communication which would justify the dispatch of a second note—and a third and a fourth if that served their purposes.

It has been rightly said that the Russians are running a great risk in sponsoring a united, independent, and rearmed Germany. They have as much reason as the rest of the world to fear the revival of German power. It is now known that the other Cominform members were stunned by the change in Soviet policy. But the Russians may be hoping to reduce the threat if their proposal becomes a reality. They have confidentially assured their Cominform colleagues that the Germany of tomorrow would have an army only large enough to protect its neutrality, certainly a smaller army than West

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Germany expects to have under NATO. In any case, in the eyes of Moscow the danger offered by such a Germany would be less immediate and less formidable than that which Russia would face if the military capacity of West Germany were added to that of the Atlantic coalition backed by the mobilized industrial capacity of the United States.

For a long time many of the leading European experts on Russian policy have maintained that the one thing which might decide the Soviet Union to go to war would be the rearmament of West Germany. Under these circumstances it is not so extraordinary that the Soviet leaders are willing to take the risk implied in their note of March 10.

The difficult position in which Moscow has placed all the movements and parties that have made prevention of German rearmament their main purpose was reflected in the long deliberations in Paris of the "Partisans of Peace," called together to take a stand in regard to the new Russian policy. Finally they came out with a statement that left no doubt about their feelings; M. Yves Farge, leader of the French "Partisans," delivered an important speech reaffirming his hostility to "any form of German rearmament." But nobody at the meeting harbored any illusion that the Moscow decision was of a temporary character.

That the United States will now be confronted by a series of actions expressing Moscow's new German strategy has been recognized by the conservative and well-informed *Wall Street Journal* in an article on March 31 by Joseph E. Evans. "Now, if for any reasons of their own," Mr. Evans wrote, "the Soviets should really want a united Germany, the United States is in the odd position where it must either oppose it—thereby earning German hatred—or give in slowly, grudgingly, and at the expense of the present policy which has cost it much in time and money. That is the trap which the United States created for itself, ready for the Soviets to spring at any time."

Moscow will not have an easy victory. The United States is going to fight now more determinedly than ever to make West Germany the hard core of its rearmament program. Should this prove successful, even though anti-Adenauer feeling is mounting throughout Germany, then the whole issue will return to its point of origin, and the Russians will have to make up their minds whether to accept defeat on this central issue or to take more drastic action.

Stevenson of Illinois

BY ALAN WHITNEY

Chicago

WHEN the politically unknown Adlai E. Stevenson was elected Governor of Illinois in 1948 by a record-breaking plurality of 572,000 votes, many local political observers contended that the magnitude of his victory should be attributed less to his own strength than to his opponent's weakness. They may have been partly right. But today few persons would bet against Stevenson's ability to repeat the accomplishment, regardless of who his rival might be.

A poll taken in Chicago several months ago by a professional agency at the behest of Republican ward leaders indicated that Stevenson would get 10 per cent of the votes cast by registered Republicans if he ran for reelection. That his stock as a Presidential candidate has been boosted by Truman's withdrawal is small comfort to the Grand Old Party in Illinois and offers no cause for rejoicing to Republicans nationally. For here is one Democratic office-holder who seems almost immune to the ills that now rack his party at various levels throughout the country. This political amateur who looks and talks like a kindly professor of English has aroused amazement, apprehension, and grudging admiration among the professionals since he first stepped before a hostile legislature early in 1949.

Although his name meant nothing to most Illinois voters in 1948, Stevenson had had experience in important but unglamorous federal offices, and his ancestors had been prominent in politics, both state and national, for generations. His grandfather, for whom he was named, was Vice-President during Grover Cleveland's second term in the White House, and his father, Lewis Stevenson, was Secretary of State of Illinois from 1914 to 1916. A great-grandfather on the maternal side, Jesse W. Fell, was a close associate of Abraham Lincoln.

Born fifty-two years ago in Los Angeles, where his father was then a newspaper executive, Stevenson was brought to Bloomington, Illinois, at the age of six. He grew up in that college and farm-market town of 40,000 inhabitants, where his mother's family owned the *Daily Pantagraph,* still one of central Illinois's leading newspapers. At Princeton he was managing editor of the campus newspaper and seemed to be headed for a career in journalism after his graduation in 1922. He worked for a short time in the editorial department of the

ALAN WHITNEY is political editor of the Chicago North Side Newspapers.

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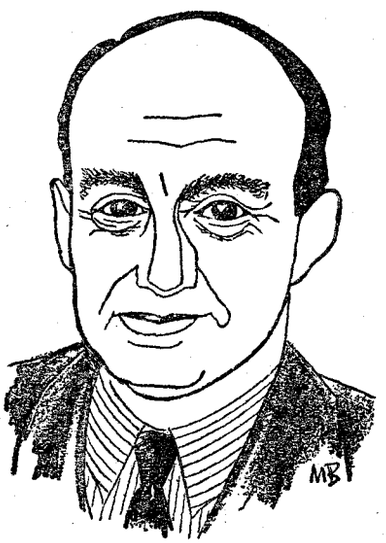
Pantagraph, and then, yielding to his father's wishes, entered Northwestern University's law school. He got his degree in 1926 and began the practice of law in Chicago. While a young attorney, Stevenson met and married Ellen Borden, whose family owns the dairy-products firm. Public life never appealed to Mrs. Stevenson, and the divorce she demanded soon after he became Governor is probably his greatest political liability.



Governor Stevenson

Stevenson entered government service in the early days of the New Deal. George N. Peek, an Illinoisan who had been associated with Stevenson's father in pressing for better farm legislation, was appointed administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and he took the youthful lawyer to Washington as his special counsel in 1933. Stevenson had early become interested in international affairs, and gave up the presidency of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations to go with Peek. Back in Chicago in 1935, he was elected to that office for two more terms. After France fell in 1940, he became active on the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and through promoting rallies for this group came into close contact with the foreign staff of the Chicago *Daily News* and with its publisher, Colonel Frank Knox. As soon as Knox was named Secretary of the Navy, he pressed Stevenson to become his special assistant and personal counsel. Stevenson joined him late in 1941 and remained with the Secretary until his death in 1944. He served as special assistant to Secretaries of State Stettinius and Byrnes in 1945 and was a member of the United States delegation to the San Francisco Conference on International Organization. At the first U. N. General Assembly he was senior adviser to the United States delegation; he attended the General Assemblies of 1946 and 1947 in New York as a delegate.

WHEN Stevenson returned to Illinois late in 1947, local Democratic leaders, without much hope of victory, faced the task of picking a team to run for Governor and United States Senator the following year. Liberals were urging that Paul H. Douglas, a University of Chicago professor and a marine combat veteran, be chosen as the candidate for Governor. Douglas had served in the officially non-partisan Chicago City Council and had bucked the Democratic organization in primaries without success. Soon Stevenson, with his experience in the federal government, was being boomed for the Senate. At the last minute, for reasons not made clear, the party leaders switched their choices, putting Douglas on the ballot for Senator and Stevenson for Governor. There has been considerable speculation about the reasons for the change. The deciding factor was probably a desire to match the well-known Douglas, a supposedly stronger Democrat, against the tougher Republican candidate, and to pit Stevenson against the weaker member of the G. O. P. team. In any event, the campaign was hardly under way before it became clear that the candidate for Governor was going to pull his own weight.

Stevenson has been compared to both Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt as an orator. He has some of the Emancipator's ability to frame literary documents on scratch paper while on his way to a meeting hall. His inaugural address as Governor is said to have been composed on the train taking him to the state capital for the occasion. Another short-order offering was his recent invitation to the Republicans to nominate their best possible man to oppose him for the governorship. "It is of little importance," he said, "whether the next Governor of Illinois is named Adlai Stevenson, but it is of the highest importance that he finish what we have started. No matter then who loses, the people will win." Like Roosevelt, Stevenson has the ability to convince his audiences that he is an uncommon man with the interests of the common man at heart.

When the ballots were counted in 1948, Stevenson carried the state by 572,000 votes, Douglas by 407,000, and Truman by 33,000.

That a Democrat could be elected Governor by more than half a million votes and find a Republican majority in the state Senate and only an eight-member Democratic margin in the lower house testifies to the peculiar system by which legislators are chosen in Illinois. That was the situation Stevenson faced when he took office in 1949. It became worse in 1950, when both houses went Republican in the off-year election. This obviously unrepresentative government in Illinois stems primarily from the Assembly's long refusal to reapportion its election districts every ten years, as required by the state constitution. Stevenson's record of accomplishment in the face of legislative hostility is due chiefly to his continuous appeal to the electorate. On television monthly, on the radio more frequently, and in hundreds of personal appearances throughout the state he has kept the people constantly aware of the issues.

His administration has been chiefly engaged with streamlining the state government, cutting out waste, applying the money thus saved where the need is greatest, and holding the line against legislative pork-barreling. During his first few months in office the Governor ordered 1,300 jobs cut from the state pay roll. Fifty of

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these sinecures had been held by newspaper editors friendly to the former regime. To undertake the long-range task of introducing efficiency into executive operations, Stevenson appointed Walter V. Schaefer, a New Deal lawyer then teaching at Northwestern University.

Bent on giving Illinois better law enforcement, the Governor knew that reform of the state police was a necessary preliminary step. Appointments to the force had hitherto been purely political. Stevenson introduced the merit system and made professional training compulsory for every member. This reform has visibly improved law enforcement in Illinois.

In the early days of his administration Stevenson was determined to call a convention to modernize the state's outmoded constitution. When the plan was blocked by the legislature, he spearheaded a drive for the next best thing, the Gateway amendment to facilitate amendments to the constitution. This was passed in 1950.

Under the Stevenson administration truck license fees have been increased to finance the first major program of road construction in twenty years. State aid to the public schools has been doubled. Appropriations for welfare services in general have been increased, and the state's facilities for the mentally ill have been improved to a point where they now rank among the best in the nation.

ON THE civil-rights front Stevenson has worked, so far without success, for state F. E. P. C. legislation. To the same end he has instituted new procedures in the state employment service. Questions regarding race, religion, and nationality have been dropped from job applications, and employers can no longer specify racial requirements in applying to the state for workers.

The Governor's record-breaking 141 vetoes have been almost as important as his positive performance. He prevented passage of the Broyles bill, a state counterpart of the McCarran act which was in some ways a worse menace to civil rights. Another veto killed the Larson bill, a measure which would have reduced the principle of local option to an absurdity. Public housing in Chicago would have been virtually killed by its provision that all sites for such construction must be approved by the voters of the surrounding area. Most of the Governor's other vetoes served to keep the legislature from spending nonexistent funds on pet projects of their constituents.

Unlike some amateurs in public office, Stevenson has not hesitated to use his reputation with the electorate in political maneuvering for the cause of good government. Late in 1950 death created a vacancy on the Illinois Supreme Court. The term was about to expire, and party leaders began looking for a deserving Democrat to sponsor in the June, 1951, election. The next thing they knew, Stevenson had appointed Walter Schaefer, his executive-department streamliner, to fill the vacancy, and the politicians had no choice but to slate him for election.

The numerous scandals that have rocked Chicago and Illinois in the past few months have not left the Stevenson administration entirely untouched. While the general quality of the Governor's appointments has been high, some dishonest politicians have been placed in state jobs through connections with the Democratic organization. But Stevenson's reaction to charges involving his subordinates has contrasted sharply with that of other Democratic office-holders. The culprits have been called on the carpet immediately and offered the opportunity to establish reasonable doubt of their guilt. Failure to do so has meant immediate dismissal.

When Republicans in Illinois look for a chink in Stevenson's political armor, they usually settle on his character deposition for Alger Hiss during the latter's perjury trial. In reply, Stevenson asks them if they would have lied about their impression of Hiss in order to be on the popular side. G. O. P. candidates have also tried to hold Stevenson responsible for the West Frankfort coal-mine disaster. The truth is that he had urged passage of a better mine-safety code at the last session of the legislature and his proposal had been buried through the efforts of downstate members of the Assembly, most of them Republicans.

Stevenson's brand of liberalism is as free from dogma as his Unitarian religious persuasion. His fundamental attitude toward government is that it must be clean, efficient, and close to the people; that the people can then be relied upon to shape it in such a way as to fulfil the promise of democracy.

A supporter of the principles of the Truman Administration's foreign policy, Stevenson has summed up his view of the world situation as follows:

> The preservation of the free world hangs upon our ability to win the allegiance of those millions and millions of people throughout the world who have not yet made their choice between our democratic system on the one hand and the promises which communism offers on the other. That choice will be mainly shaped by our own performance. It will turn upon such things as our ability to avoid the disruptions of depression, to guarantee equality of opportunity, to narrow the gulf separating economic status, to preserve freedom of thought and action, to make democracy accord in practice with its promises and professions of faith.

Speaking at the battlefield of Gettysburg last November, the Governor of Lincoln's state made this declaration about one of our chief domestic problems:

> Proud of the past, patient with what Washington called "the impostures of pretended patriotism," it is for us, the living, to rekindle the hot, indignant fires of faith in the free man, free in body, free in mind, free in spirit, free to hold any opinion, free to search and find the truth for himself; the old faith that is ever new —that burned so brightly here at Gettysburg long ago.

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South African Madness

BY E. S. SACHS

Johannesburg, South Africa

THE lamps of liberty, which have never shone very brightly in South Africa, have now become painfully dim. The non-Europeans who constitute the overwhelming majority of its people have always lacked even elementary citizens' rights. Since the Nationalist government of Dr. Daniel François Malan assumed power in May, 1948, the bulk of the European population is also in danger of losing its say in government.

Dr. Malan's fundamental policy is *apartheid*, which literally translated means "separation." But its meaning is more accurately summed up in the brutal Nationalist slogan *Kaffer op sy plek en Koelie uit de land*—"The Kaffir in his place and the coolie out of the country." To the ten million native, colored, and Indian people of South Africa, *apartheid* means violence, terror, wholesale imprisonment, and slavery; it means landlessness, poverty, and the denial of education, vocational training, and elementary democratic rights. To the Nationalists, *apartheid* is a philosophy based on the conception that people who do not possess white skins are inferiors destined by Providence to remain servants of the whites.

Campaigning on this policy, the Nationalists in 1948 obtained a majority of 7 in the 153-member House of Assembly; in the Senate their majority for some time consisted only of the casting vote of the chairman. They and their ally, the Afrikaner Party, polled between them only 442,338 votes as against 623,716 in opposition.

From the moment they assumed power, the Nationalists—drawing their inspiration from the Nazis—embarked upon a policy of intimidating and terrorizing this majority opposition. Hooligans broke up anti-Nationalist meetings; the trade-union movement has been subjected to a campaign of vilification and violence; a Suppression of Communists Act was passed which gave the Nationalist Minister of Justice power to declare any person a Communist, to suppress publications, and to banish people from certain areas without trial or hearing.

On the legislative front the Nationalists resorted to flagrant juggling of the franchise in order to strengthen their frail parliamentary majority. In 1948 they disfranchised the 300,000 Indians in the country who had formerly been represented by three delegates in the House and two in the Senate—who by law had to be Europeans, incidentally. In 1949 they passed a law which gave the Europeans of South-West Africa—fewer than 20,000 voters in all, many of them Germans and Nazis—the right to elect six members of the House and four Senators. (In South Africa's urban areas a member represents an average of 12,000 voters; hence the vote of a German in South-West Africa is worth three or four times that of a citizen of Johannesburg or Capetown.)

The Union of South Africa has no constitution, but the South Africa Act, the legal basis of the union, has always been regarded as taking the place of a constitution. Section 35 of the act provides that no person may be disqualified as a voter by reason of his race or color except by the vote of two-thirds of the total members of both houses of Parliament sitting in joint session.

Today there are about 1,000,000 colored people—non-Europeans of mixed origin as distinct from Bantus or Indians—in South Africa. The overwhelming majority live in the Cape, southernmost province of the Union, where they have always enjoyed franchise rights equal—at least technically—to those of Europeans. Because of stringent property and educational qualifications fewer than 50,000 succeeded in becoming registered voters for the last election. Nevertheless, this colored vote was of great importance in about ten constituencies.

In the face of nation-wide protest the Nationalist government last year passed the Separate Representation of Voters Act, which placed colored voters on a separate roll and limited their representation to four Europeans in the House and one in the Senate. The act was passed by a bare majority in separate sittings and not by a two-thirds' majority in a joint session as provided by the South Africa Act. Four colored voters challenged the law before the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, and last March 20, in a dramatic moment, the Honorable A. van de S. Centlivres, Chief Justice of the Union, declared it was the unanimous decision of the five-man tribunal that the law was null and void.

The opinion was, in effect, a reversal of an earlier one by the same court—then differently constituted—which had upheld a 1936 act placing *native* voters, as distinct from *colored* voters, on a separate roll. Chief Justice van de S. Centlivres, in the current case, specifically said that he and his colleagues believed the earlier decision to have been wrong.

The court's action elated the masses of non-Europeans as well as all liberty-loving whites in the country. But on the afternoon of the same day Dr. Malan grimly challenged not only the decision but the court:

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Neither Parliament nor the people of South Africa will be prepared to acquiesce in a position where the legislative sovereignty of the lawfully and democratically elected representatives of the people is denied. . . .

There are now two conflicting judgments of the Appeal Court in regard to a constitutional issue which is of the very highest importance. . . . It is imperative that the legislative sovereignty of Parliament should be placed beyond any doubt, in order to insure order and certainty. The government will take the necessary steps to do its duty and will, at the appropriate time, announce such steps after reasons for the judgment have been studied and considered.

Many anti-Nationalists saw in Dr. Malan's reference to the "democratically elected representatives of the people" only a bitter jest, in view of the general state of the franchise. They felt that if he had really wanted to test the sentiment of the country, he should have resigned and held an election. But most of all, they saw in his challenge to the judiciary a dire threat to the whole people and to the few liberties left to them. The people of South Africa have always been proud of the integrity and independence of their high courts; moreover, as in the case of the American Supreme Court and of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Britain, the right to reverse decisions of predecessors has always been accepted as a prerogative of the Appellate Division.

The following day Dr. Malan announced that legislation would soon be introduced which would deprive the courts retroactively of all rights to pass on acts of Parliament. The question arises: Would such an act be itself legal? Suppose it were approved by Parliament; suppose, in preparation for the general election scheduled for next year, Dr. Malan proceeded to put the colored voters on a separate list; suppose his act were again challenged and the Appeals Court again decided against him. Suppose, further, that on the basis of the March 20 opinion, voters again challenged, this time successfully, the 1936 law which had put *natives* on separate lists? What then would be the situation?

In effect, the people of South Africa would have to decide between the law as enunciated by an independent judiciary and by the independent Dr. Malan. There are some who believe that, in such a crisis, the Nationalists might decide to carry through a national revolution and proclaim a Nazi-style republic. Others believe that the position of the courts, if maintained, would force Malan in the end to dissolve Parliament and call for new elec-

"YOU TOO!"

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tions on a "white-supremacy" and "sovereign-Parliament" platform.

Meanwhile mass demonstrations are being held throughout the country, organized chiefly by the War Veterans' Torch Commando, now a year old. With a membership of 150,000, its sole purpose is to seek the removal of the Nationalist Party from power by lawful means; it emphasizes that South Africans, thousands of whom gave their lives to help rid the world of Nazism and fascism, want no part of either in their own country.

The alternative to *apartheid* is a truly democratic South Africa, with all racial groups enjoying full democracy and equal opportunities for advancement. Unfortunately the Nationalists' major opposition, the United Party, which was led for thirty years by the late General Smuts, is in opposition only in the play for power, not in basic tenets. There is little difference between Malan's *apartheid* and the United Party's "Christian trusteeship." Both aim at maintaining a reservoir of cheap native labor for the mines and the farms—the cornerstone of national policy in South Africa for a half-century.

The Nationalists can always count on the vote of the rural Europeans, to whom the preservation of a cheap labor market and of high wool and maize prices would appear to be the only function of government. The urban middle class is overwhelmingly United Party, but much of urban labor was captured at the last election by the Nationalists. The explanation is simple: most of these city workers are Afrikaners only recently come from the hinterland and have not yet developed a labor tradition.

But tens of thousands of Afrikaner workers who voted Nationalist in 1948 are today bitterly disappointed because the government has done nothing to save them from the results of catastrophic rises in living costs. They are ripe for political plucking—but not by the United Party, which they consider the party of "capitalists" and "imperialists." What is urgently needed is a strong and influential Labor Party which could recruit the Afrikaner workers away from the Nationalists. Such a drive could destroy Malan's party forever as a political threat.

The defeat of the Nationalists would not of itself bring about any immediate fundamental changes in South Africa. It would, however, open the door to the possibility of a clear political division between those who want to see South Africa evolve into a "Third Reich" and those who want to see it evolve into a great democratic state leading the rest of Africa in progress and civilization. Moreover, the defeat of Dr. Malan will not be achieved on constitutional issues which interest only the middle class. Workers are more interested in living standards. South Africa can only be wrested from Malan by a strong and militant Labor Party in combination with a rejuvenated United Party and the solid backing of the trade unions. These must unite on a short-term constructive economic policy—a "New Deal" for the workers of South Africa—involving the destruction once and for all of the semi-slave, cheap native-labor system.

Unless the democratic forces of the country unite and challenge reaction, South Africa for a long time to come will continue to travel backward toward the dark ages. The process may even continue until one day the 150,000,000 black people of Africa say forcefully, "We shall no longer be Kaffirs," just as millions of Asians recently declared that they would no longer be "coolies."

Gagging Our Foreign Students

BY SALLY LIBERMAN

THE foreign students now studying in American colleges and universities are among the less well-known victims of the post-war witch hunt. Being "foreign," they are of course suspect, and since they are here as a matter of grace and not of right, they are particularly vulnerable. To many of them the price tag on a university degree is strict conformity to the prevailing orthodoxy. Those who express dissenting views are likely to suffer a chain of penalties—close surveillance, investigation, loss of their student visas, and in some cases arrest and deportation.

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Most of the foreign students—there are about 31,000 in all—live on tight budgets and cannot afford legal counsel. By and large they are not familiar with immigration procedures, nor are they always aware of their rights. Immigration officials, moreover, seldom consult the college authorities before taking action against a student. If they refuse to renew a visa, they make no charge; the district office simply announces that the Immigration Service is "not satisfied clearly and beyond a doubt that the merits of the case are such that the applicant is entitled to remain longer in the United States in pursuance of the purpose for which he originally entered." Officials of organizations working with foreign students are noncommittal. "Above all," they say, "we must maintain the best relations with the Immigration Service."

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The Chinese students face a particularly difficult situation. A student's rejection of the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek does not necessarily make him a supporter of Mao, but that fact is often overlooked. The Chinese Student Christian Association is on the Attorney General's "list." Sixteen students at the University of Illinois were ordered returned to China primarily because of membership in this organization. None had committed any overt act of subversion, but according to Arthur Hamilton, an adviser to foreign students at the university, the Department of Justice took the position that it was unable to determine which were Communists and which were not and therefore decided to send them all back "where they came from."

Even Canadians fare no better. William Willmott, a Canadian citizen born in Chengtu, China—his parents were missionaries—enrolled in Oberlin College in 1949. He was active in a number of organizations—the Methodist Federation for Social Action, the Y. M. C. A., the Young Progressives, the Student Volunteer Movement, and the Student UNESCO Committee. In September of his sophomore year Willmott filed a routine application for extension of his student visa. A month later, in a letter to the *Oberlin Review*, he questioned the reliability of information in the American press about the Korean war and developments in China, declared that South Korea might have invaded North Korea, and supported the Quaker peace proposals ("Steps to Peace").

Soon afterward he was summoned to the Cleveland office of the Immigration Service and informed that "a well-meaning patriotic student" had forwarded a copy of his letter to the FBI. He was then asked about membership in certain organizations and whether he subscribed to the *Compass* or the *Daily Worker*. Other questions dealt with literature he had received from China, particularly a magazine called *The People's China*, and his views on Nationalist versus Communist China.

THE interview took place on December 15, 1950. On January 10 of the next year Willmott was informed by the Buffalo regional office of the Immigration Service that he should make arrangements to leave the United States before February 10. President Stevenson of Oberlin wrote the district director that Willmott was a good student, that he was neither a Communist nor a fascist, and that his presence in Oberlin would not be detrimental to the security of the United States. In reply the district director wrote: "The situation involves a young man who doubtless is as good as you say he is but who nevertheless could be a deleterious force in the lives of certain others, and it is for this reason that the denial action was taken." The basic reason, however, appears to have been Willmott's interest in the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, whose publication he had read but of which he was not a member. The district director also wrote: "I note you say that Mr. Willmott has allied himself with certain organizations here 'not unlike a great many other young people here in America.' Those other young people, however, are doubtless citizens of the United States, which he is not." Apparently the Immigration Service is not familiar with a statement by former Attorney General J. Howard McGrath in a four-page pamphlet entitled "To All Alien Students Entering the United States." The statement reads: "During your stay here you are given the rights to the freedom and privileges enjoyed by citizens of the United States and aliens residing here permanently."

At President Stevenson's suggestion an attorney arranged a hearing for Willmott. The respite thus obtained enabled him to finish the academic year at Oberlin, but in March he chose to leave the United States voluntarily.

To the Immigration Service a foreign student whose studies keep him in this country more than six years is a "potential" immigrant, regardless of overwhelming evidence that he intends to return to his own country. In 1945 a young man from Sierra Leone, Africa—the first man in his village to learn to read and write—came to the United States to study. He had a burning ambition to become a doctor, rarely missed a class, and supported himself with odd jobs. He had taken a full course in medicine and was within six months of receiving a doctorate in public health at New York University when he was ordered, last October, to leave the United States before November 23.

An Iranian student who has been here since 1945 studying for a Ph.D. in city planning has been refused an extension of his student visa and told to leave. He believes that the chief reason is his potential-immigrant status but that his public stand in support of the oil-nationalization program in Iran may be another factor. Last summer he spoke at Lafayette College in favor of the program and later published an open letter to Premier Mossadegh congratulating him on the nationalization campaign. Copies of the letter, which was signed by members of the Iranian Student Group of New York, were sent to newspapers in Iran, to the New York papers, and to the press associations. The *Daily Worker* devoted considerable space to the letter, to the consternation of Iranian students in New York, who charged that its meaning had been distorted.

The immigration officials are under great strain—ill-paid and poorly prepared to enforce the increasingly complex laws and regulations demanded by Congressional inquisitors. Young foreigners are handy scapegoats and too often are treated in a way that is inconsistent with the American tradition of hospitality to visiting students. They have to prove their innocence of any disloyalty to our government instead of being presumed innocent until proved guilty, as the American system of justice prescribes.

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Impressions of New China, II

BY V. K. R. V. RAO

Delhi, India

THE basis of agrarian reform in China is quite simple. The tiller must own the land he tills; a landlord who rents out his land is a non-producer and has no right to his income. He has no right to land on which he does not work or to own more houses or agricultural implements or cattle than are required for cultivating an average holding in his village. All land or equipment that a landlord owns in excess of the village average is considered surplus and may be confiscated by the state and made available to the land-poor and landless peasants in the village. The distribution is per capita: larger families get larger holdings, women and children being taken into account as full persons for this purpose. Surplus equipment, cattle, and houses are similarly distributed. No compensation is paid to the landlord, and those to whom this property is awarded get it as a free gift from the state. The new owners must pay the land tax, which amounts to about 18 per cent of the produce, but as against this they previously paid rent to the landlords of between 50 and 60 per cent of the produce. We were told that the relief thus granted to the actual tillers amounts to twenty million tons of food grains.

The so-called rich peasants, those whose holdings exceed the village average but who work on their land and are usually the best farmers of the village, are not disturbed in their property—they are, in fact, actually protected, as are the so-called middle peasants, whose holdings roughly equal the village average. Exceptions to the rule of no tilling, no ownership are made in the case of soldiers, teachers, civil servants, writers, and other workers residing in towns, provided that their income from land constitutes only a small portion of their total income and that their holdings do not exceed the village average.

Land reform in each area was preceded by education and intensive propaganda. The actual redistribution of land was effected through peasant committees aided by college professors and students. The redistribution was almost invariably made the occasion for the stimulation of class consciousness in rural areas; landlords alleged to have committed acts of oppression, usury, or inhumanity against their tenants were publicly accused and tried. Whether one approves of this procedure or not, there is no denying that it has linked the vast majority of the peasants to the new government by almost indissoluble ties.

The industrial workers, the petty bourgeoisie, and the private capitalists have one thing in common: they live in towns and have to purchase their food and other consumers' goods. The price level has therefore a direct bearing on their welfare. When the Communists came to power, China was in the throes of a severe inflation. By July, 1950, inflation had been checked and prices had been stabilized. It is true that there has since been some rise in the prices of industrial goods, especially of cloth, owing primarily to increased rural purchasing power; but prices of essential commodities as a whole have not risen very much.

While the government has obtained the support of the general urban population through this successful implementation of its anti-inflation program, it has taken special steps to win the favor of the different classes. The industrial workers enjoy many more benefits and amenities than they had under the previous regime. Social insurance on modern lines has been introduced, including workmen's compensation and maternity, sickness, and old-age benefits. A beginning has been made in the provision of rest houses, dormitories, sanitariums, and so on. Workers who distinguish themselves in increasing production are given the title of labor heroes or model workers and held up to the admiration of their comrades and of the entire country.

While government corporations have taken over foreign trade and a large sector of domestic wholesale trade, a certain portion of wholesale trade and the entire retail trade have been left in private hands. Storekeepers seem to be quite happy as the result of the increase in rural purchasing power and also of the new emphasis placed by government on the flow of commodities between towns and villages. An additional source of satisfaction is the rationalization of taxation and, with it, the abolition of petty and multiple taxes.

As for the capitalist class, Article 30 of the Common Program declares that "the People's Government shall encourage the active operation of all private economic enterprises beneficial to the national welfare and to the people's livelihood and shall assist in their development." The private capitalist has therefore a definite place in the new Chinese economy. Taxation of profits does not exceed 30 per cent. Dividends are limited and there is a general ban on sending profits abroad, but all possible

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V. K. R. V. RAO is a distinguished Indian economist whose views reflect important non-Communist opinion in his country. This article is the second of two embodying his conclusions about the new China formed during a recent official visit. The first appeared last week.

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facilities in the way of raw materials, transport, finance, and technical assistance are offered by the government to private industrial concerns carrying on approved productive activities; this is true not only for Chinese concerns but also for foreign concerns operating in China. At the same time the state has far more effective control over the private sector of industry than in either the United States or India. In effect, private industrial concerns in China either carry out processing activities for the government or produce finished goods on government order. There is no interference in operational or managerial matters, markets and reasonable profits are guaranteed, but there is effective integration of the private sector in the government's over-all economic program.

SO MUCH for the new government's hold on the Chinese people. What are its long-range plans? Politically, there is intense concentration on what is called "Aid Korea and Resist American Aggression." Simultaneously Sino-Russian friendship is being built up, with emphasis on the Sino-Russian treaty of alliance and the armed might of the Soviet Union. In the economic field the problem of industrialization—the need to meet the newly awakened demand of the peasantry for more consumer goods and thus stave off inflation—is certainly the subject of serious thought among the policy-makers. China needs both capital equipment and technical assistance to speed up industrialization, but because of the economic blockade recently imposed at the instance of the U. N. it is finding it difficult to get supplies from the Western world. As a natural corollary, a radical change is taking place in the direction of its foreign trade, and China is leaning heavily today for both technical assistance and supplies of capital goods on the Soviet Union and its associates in Eastern Europe.

The cultural ties between China and the Soviet Union are also being strengthened. The Russian language is now taught as a second language in many of the middle schools, and books and journals in Russian dominate the foreign-language bookshops that are found in the principal cities. The Chinese press contains little foreign news as compared, for example, with the Indian press, and the news agencies whose releases are published are mainly Hsinhua or Tass, not Reuter's or A. P. or U. P. Hostile observers see in all this the beginning of a new order in China in which contacts with the outside world will be mainly with and through the Soviet Union; some even fear that the new China will be a menace to the rest of Asia.

I myself feel certain the hostile observers are wrong in their reading of the Chinese puzzle. Undoubtedly Sino-Soviet friendship will be an enduring fact, but it is equally true that China is not and can never be a Soviet satellite. The Chinese leaders are essentially Chinese patriots; the program by which they are consolidating their hold is essentially a domestic program designed to solve the many economic, social, and cultural problems that confront the Chinese people.

The most noteworthy characteristic of the present Chinese leadership is its strong sense of actuality and its aversion from a doctrinaire course. The major factor in Mao's rise to power has been his realism, his framing of policies closely connected with concrete conditions. Thus the basic facts of the Chinese situation, together with the quality of the leadership, argue against militaristic adventures on China's part. The intense anti-American feeling that now prevails has arisen largely because the United States has been linked with the two things the Chinese people hate most — Chiang Kai-shek and Japanese rearmament; and even this feeling is directed against the American government rather than the American people, for whom there seems still to exist considerable regard.

Mao Tse-tung

The Chinese are conscious that they are a great power and will not tolerate any threat to their territorial integrity. But given understanding and recognition of present realities by the Western world, which means adoption of a policy toward China not based on the thought that it is a Soviet satellite, I have no doubt that friendly relations between China and the West can be revived and peace restored and made enduring in Asia. We Indians have just cause to be proud that, thanks to the statesmanship of Mr. Nehru, India is the one country that has shown a correct understanding of the Chinese puzzle.

The Chinese leadership is so anxious to improve the condition of the people that it would hesitate to revive internal disorder in pursuit of a doctrinaire mirage. Not that the Chinese Communist Party denies its goal of a Communist society; it is simply prepared to wait till the people voluntarily effect the transformation. I visualize the definite possibility that during this transition period Chinese culture, tradition, and psychology will influence the nature of the final goal, and that given peace and absence of foreign intervention, a new society will eventually emerge in China which may embody at least some of the West's liberal values.

To my mind, however, the brightest hope for the future of new China vis-à-vis the rest of the world, both East and West, lies in India's friendship for China and China's for India. On the development of that friendship depends perhaps not only the maintenance of peace in Asia but also the future form of communism in China.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Off with Their Heads

LET IT COME DOWN. By Paul Bowles. Random House. $3.50.

THE SWIFT CLOUD. By Sigrid de Lima. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

THERE WAS A MAN IN OUR TOWN. By Granville Hicks. The Viking Press. $3.

PAUL BOWLES'S "Let It Come Down" has been praised by people who should know better; it has also become the best-seller it was intended to be. I have not read his first novel, "The Sheltering Sky," but I recollect a real if qualified delight in the short stories of "The Delicate Prey." Most of them are about the same subject: the destruction of effete Westerners by the arts, the skulduggery, and the implacable hostility of primitive peoples, usually Mexican or Arab. Like D. H. Lawrence, Mr. Bowles sees the natural, which he equates with the primitive, as bound, one way or another, to destroy artifice. Unlike Lawrence, who found—by fits and starts at least—our eventual salvation in such destruction, Mr. Bowles's natural forces embodied in primitive peoples are worse than the human trivia they destroy. This is a view of things which when applied to the writing of fiction can lead quickly to a dead end. After "The Delicate Prey" the question remained: Can anything more of importance be written on this matter?

The answer is that Mr. Bowles has popularized his radical preoccupation by diluting it and sentimentalizing it. "Let It Come Down" is the history of a few weeks in the life of an American bank clerk, in flight from neurosis, who takes a job in Tangier. There he slips easily into a maelstrom of intrigue and debauchery which swallows him up. But, we are assured, in sloughing off his New York bank-teller standards, Charles Dyar has somehow found himself at the moment of his complete undoing.

Compared to "The Delicate Prey" this novel is studiously muted, as if Mr. Bowles were addressing himself to a *Ladies' Home Journal* audience which must be simultaneously shocked and informed—but never too much so—by an account of strange goings-on in far places. Long passages read like a rather dull travelogue. And where the writing in the short stories was wonderfully stripped of unnecessary detail and often deliberately flat so that no attention might be diverted from the subject, this writing seems flat merely out of carelessness or ennui. The process of cheapening has been drastic and thorough.

"The Swift Cloud" is a disappointment—the more so if one remembers Miss de Lima's first novel, "Captain's Beach," and the expectation it aroused of even better things to come. Its central theme, the importance of any kind of love, is developed through the close examination of one day in the life of a good man wrongfully accused of having murdered the idiot son whom he loved. During his brief stay in the jail of a small Southern California town, Clyde Cassen relives the problems which his son's idiocy and his own devotion created. Unhappily, in order to do this, Miss de Lima has constructed a special manner instead of writing quietly and in her own good fashion or, at least, in the fashion of "Captain's Beach." It is a manner which shuttles back and forth in time, often for no compelling reason, and which relies on repetition to create density and a sense of life going on. There is nothing wrong with these devices, but Miss de Lima uses them and others so excessively that they obscure what they were meant to clarify.

Yet "The Swift Cloud" has its excellences. The man, Clyde Cassen, and his family are re-created; Miss de Lima knows how to convey sights and sounds beautifully; she gets perfectly the feeling of September as it falls on one of those small Southern California towns which lie east of Los Angeles toward the desert. Nor does her unfortunate manner ever mask the acuteness of her moral sensibility.

Granville Hicks's new novel, "There Was a Man in Our Town," is the story of a retired college professor who sets out to break the Republican machine in an up-state New York town. He learns that "politics is people" the hard way. Though he gets himself into some strange predicaments he acquires wisdom and is undefeated in spirit after various material defeats. The characters are all stereotypes conceived in great high spirits. The high spirits, indeed, are the most engaging thing about this novel, a *roman à thèse* on a theme so worn that Mr. Hicks should probably be congratulated on having managed to be amusing as often as he is.

ERNEST JONES

The Business of Government

HOW TO GET RICH IN WASHINGTON. By Blair Bolles. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.75.

IT IS difficult to decide whether Mr. Bolles in writing this book hypnotized himself into being earnestly scandalized by the sorry Washington chicanery he rehashes, deliberately produced a quickie designed to sell on the basis of a snappy subtitle ("Rich Man's Division of the Welfare State"), or does not really understand the truth about our kind of government. In any case he makes no serious contribution to an understanding of the truth. The book is largely a recapitulation of stuff paraded in Congressional hearings and newspapers, a college undergraduate's version of those celebrated novelties for the gee-whiz set—Washington, New York, Chicago "Confidential."

There are some slick generalizations. Taxes are so high that "there is not much left for the Morgans and those in private life who used to finance the spread of capitalism." "Washington itself has become J. P. Morgan." Yet "economic royalists" are regaining "paramountcy." Regulatory agencies tend to become prisoners of the interests they are supposed to regulate. What we have now is "military socialism."

If Bolles is aware that even halfway smart financiers avoid stiff upper-bracket income-tax rates by manipulating the purchase and sale of assets so as to benefit through lower taxes on capital gains, he does not indicate it. Nor does he seem to realize that some of the

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RFC's most harshly criticized loans were at least vaguely justified under a Congressional injunction that "small business" should be helped. Nor does he acknowledge that the very existence of the RFC is a potential check on a return to the private monopoly of credit. Complaining that the independent agencies have too much power and that Congress "has less control over the real nature of government" than during "rubber-stamp" early New Deal days, he also writes, a little later: "Congressional laws and military policy in effect guaranteed a profit to the war contractors no matter how improvident or inept they might be."

If he would stick to that last statement he would be closer to the facts. Congress does not lack "control" of agency and department policies. The power of the sugar industry in the Department of Agriculture is a reflection of the power of the sugar industry in Congress. The important oil lobbyists are elected members of Congress. The important insurance lobbyists—the ones who helped decide the liability of fire-insurance firms under the anti-trust laws and the tax liabilities of life-insurance firms—are elected members of Congress. Even the collapse of the Federal Power Commission, a once vigilant regulatory agency, followed enactment of a bill by Congress to emasculate its work. Truman vetoed the bill, but the commissioners saw what happened to Leland E. Olds after he fought the utilities and oil companies: the Senate refused to confirm his reappointment. This reviewer doubts the validity of Bolles's insinuation that the FPC wrote itself out of the regulation of natural-gas companies because Senator Kerr, who opposed regulations, supported President Truman against General MacArthur. Passage of the Kerr bill and the stake-burning of Olds in the Senate were signs that any timid commissioner could read.

Business men have always got rich or poor depending on policies in Washington—not less in the 1880's and pre-Civil War days than now. High tariffs continued long beyond the period of "infancy" in industry were simply public plunder approved by the same kind of Congressmen who today insist that defense contractors make a profit no matter how improvident or inept they may be, the same kind of Congressmen who insist that even under price controls the profits of manufacturers, middle men, and retailers be guaranteed. The business of government is always closely related to control of the economy, to the dispensing or withholding of favors, to the issue of who pays how much in taxes.

We shall not get rid of deep-freeze artists, mink-coat grabbers, and Presidential aides who free-load at luxury hotels by making a few wisecracks that obscure a basic problem. We had a better-balanced government in early New Deal years because the people had elected a Congress with some interest in the general welfare, and members of that Congress, such as Senators Norris and Black, had guts enough to force through legislation despite the howling opposition of holding-company pirates and the whole community of legalized plunderers. It is not necessarily true that regulatory bodies continually deteriorate; the Federal Trade Commission in recent years has been far more vital and vigorous than it was under Roosevelt. If the people elected a better Congress again, the effect would quickly become evident in many departments and independent agencies.

WILLARD SHELTON

The Art of Biography

NELL GWYN, ROYAL MISTRESS. By John Harold Wilson. Pellegrini and Cudahy. $4.

A BIOGRAPHY usually raises the query: is it entertaining *or* reliable? Mr. Wilson's is both. Its first advantage is its subject, a woman who rose from a player in Drury Lane to a royal mistress of Charles II; the whole concept of official mistresses is pleasantly shocking to our modern sense of public decorum. Then, too, she flourished during the Restoration, an era brilliant with lust, wit, intrigue, candlelight and brocade, with even a great plague and fire thrown in.

Yet even with these aids to entertainment, the biographer who wishes to write an honest, reliable book has his problems. Mr. Wilson tells us candidly at the beginning what sources he had available: reliable evidence, like deeds, wills, warrants, state papers, theatrical records; questionable kinds, like newspapers, letters, diaries, histories, and anecdotes; and, finally, the least reliable, prose and verse lampoons or libels. These materials are the kind usually used in scholarly biographies, often with edifying but unpalatable results. They are also sometimes used by the popular biographer, who then projects himself into the mind of his heroine, and tells us what she thought and said. This method, for all its popularity, is a falsification of history.

Mr. Wilson exhibits here the best qualities of the scholar and the popularizer and none of the faults of either. A good sample of how he raises a sound and graceful structure on a foundation of documents is his ninth chap-

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ter, which describes Nell's manner of life on Pall Mall. He gives us the concrete facts about her house, taxes, servants, sedan chair, coach, food, drink, doctors' bills, cosmetics, gambling, shopping, clothes, bed (decorated with silver and costing about a thousand pounds); and then he ends the chapter with the concert she gave for the King in her new house. All this—as the brief chapter bibliography at the end of the book details—is based on reliable sources. The facts are specific without being diluted into pseudo-dramatic presentation. The reader, it is true, must work a little too, visualizing and integrating, but he ends with an authentic picture of Nell's home and not the painted prop of a stage set. The description here is rounded out by an anecdote. At the end of the concert the King, wishing to reward the players, fumbled in his pocket without finding any money and then asked the Duke of York, who had only a guinea or two. Whereupon Nell, turning to the other guests and borrowing the King's favorite oath, cried, "Od's fish! What company am I got into?"

But what if the biographer of the documented, critical method is faced with conflicting evidence? If he is "creative" he will choose the version which his intuition reveals as the true one. Mr. Wilson simply states the origin of the disputed fact, thus indicating its weight. If he has two versions, he gives them both—particularly if they are amusing and illuminating. Thus, there are two accounts of how Nell persuaded the King to give their son a peerage. According to one, she held the child out of an upper-story window and threatened to drop him unless—when the King cried, "God save the Earl of Burford." The other relates that once in the King's presence she called out to the boy, "Come hither, you little bastard," and when the King reproved her, replied that "she had no better name to call him by." Whether true or not these traditional stories point up what the indisputable facts show—that Nell exerted herself for her son and that the King procrastinated in granting honors he had awarded to his other illegitimate sons.

In sketching the background Mr. Wilson picks his way through vast complexities, yet manages to write always with clarity and zest. It is a brief book, but he packs into it all the color and controversy of Nell's rivalry with the other principal mistresses, the Duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth, and her friendship with the court wits—Dorset, Rochester, Sedley, and Buckingham. Historically, the capering of the King's mistresses is only an entertaining surface ornamentation; beneath it a grim struggle was being fought to make England a constitutional monarchy and a pivotal European power. Still, to compare Charles II's mistresses with the dowdy ones of the first two Georges is to mark the evolution of the monarchy from the aristocratic insouciance of the Stuarts to the middle-class stolidity of the Hanoverians.

It is personal, not national, history that has kept Nell Gwyn in the popular imagination since her own day. Her success story has classic appeal: the daughter of a man so obscure that his first name is not recorded, she was the mother of the royal Duke of St. Albans. Remembered by Charles as he lay dying—when he apologized for being so long about it—she herself died rich, respected, and not especially repentant. The Victorians tried to explain away the profession by which she earned her honors. In his biography Mr. Wilson has removed the whitewash to restore her to what she looks like in the Lely portrait that serves as frontispiece—an impudent beauty. ROBERT HALSBAND

Books in Brief

THE NEGRO FREEDMAN. By Henderson H. Donald. Schuman. $4. A detailed and dispassionate study of the effects of freedom on 4,000,000 former slaves in the years just after the Civil War—a perplexing and difficult period in which the Negroes, suddenly freed from bondage and preyed upon by carpetbaggers, were faced with the problems of earning a living in a ruined land and of adjusting themselves to a new way of life.

RAG, TAG AND BOBTAIL. By Lynn Montross. Harper. $5. The author has attempted to give an "eyewitness account" of the American Revolution by extensive quotations from diaries and letters, tied together by his own rather

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haphazard narrative. The result, while not particularly illuminating as history, is justified by the vividness with which some of the individual scenes are brought to life by the contemporary documents.

PLANTATION COUNTY. By Morton Rubin. University of North Carolina Press. $3.50. This volume, the first of the Field Studies in the Modern Culture of the South, prepared under the direction of John Gillin, describes the present social strata and ways of life in a typical Black Belt county with a population of 5,000 whites and 20,000 Negroes. The author is a Jew, a Bostonian, and a cultural anthropologist, but in spite of what must locally have been considered three strikes against him, he seems to have been successful in winning the confidence of the people during the year that he spent among them. A useful addition to our knowledge of the economic and social patterns of American life.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THE GRASS HARP" (Martin Beck Theater) is about four sensitive misfits who run away from their crass families in a small Southern town and take refuge temporarily in a forest tree, where they live for a time on fried chicken and hard-boiled eggs brought along in a shoe box. Considered just as a plot, this is, I suppose, no sillier than the plot of "As You Like It"—which, as a matter of fact, it very remotely resembles: "Blow blow, thou winter wind, thou art not so unkind," etc. There are no banished dukes, no convenient lions to eat up a villain, and no holy hermits to produce a quick reform. But there are other personages and incidents equally surprising, including, for instance, a crooked promoter out to get possession of the formula for a secret dropsy cure owned by one of the refugees, a last-minute conversion, and a certain Miss Baby Doll Dallas who wanders into the forest peddling a line of cosmetics guaranteed to transform any hag into a Hollywood starlet.

I hasten to add that the purpose of this comparison is not either to depreciate "As You Like It" or to exalt "The Grass Harp"; it is simply a way of confessing frankly that to tell the story of a fantasy may be to do it less than justice. Conceivably a story like that just recounted might be transformed by some magic of poetry, imagination, or humor into a delightful piece. But Truman Capote, who has made the play from his own recently published story, is no Shakespeare, and though at least one of the leading critics thought the performance thoroughly delightful I found myself hanging my head in embarrassment at what seemed to me the fatuous goings-on presented on the stage.

The moral of the play is plain enough and like the plot might conceivably have served a purpose. Temperamentally I am not unsympathetic to those who find the world too much for them. On the whole I think I also agree with the author that, regrettable though the fact may be, utter flight is no solution, and one must come down out of one's tree to make some sort of peace with the world. But these are familiar thoughts and hardly call for long exposition unless one has some effective method of presenting them.

For all I know, Mr. Capote's narrative may have generated a special atmosphere. The only parts of the play not clumsy are the two or three long speeches in which one of the characters simply explains to another what he thinks it is all about. But so far as anything is dramatized, it fails to come off. What was no doubt intended as poetical naivete comes out as mere clumsy childishness, and it is obvious that the performers—on the whole they are good ones—feel from time to time as though they had wandered into a high-school play. In short, though I hope I am not only responsive to imagination but in some degree capable of making the best of whimsy, I am compelled to say that "The Grass Harp" just won't go down.

Considerable pains have obviously been taken with the production. There is incidental music by Virgil Thomson and there are settings by Cecil Beaton, whose tree house is one of the best things in the show. Russell Collins is almost convincing as the retired judge who joins the runaways, and Mildred Natwick does her very good best as the heroine who knows how to make the dropsy cure out of wild herbs.

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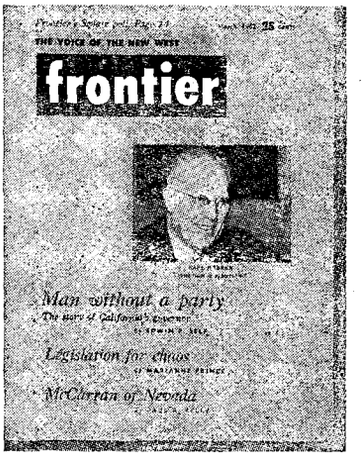

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

TOSCANINI'S broadcast of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony completed, as the N. B. C. announcer pointed out, his fifteenth season with the N. B. C. Symphony Orchestra. I would add that it was the fifteenth year in which the radio public has heard what have been in large measure falsifications and distortions of Toscanini's performances. The first thirteen of those years the sound of the performances was falsified at its source by the acoustic defects of Studio 8H, and the proportions and balance were distorted partly by these defects and partly by method of pickup (*i. e.*, microphone placement) and transmission; but the last two years pick-up and transmission alone have produced the continuing falsification and distortion of performances originating in Carnegie Hall, where their sound has been fabulously beautiful, and from where C. B. S. has transmitted excellent facsimiles of the New York Philharmonic's performances—facsimiles, that is, in which the orchestra appears to be heard from a sufficient distance for its components to reach the ear with the spaciousness, clarity, balance, and beauty they have in the hall. N. B. C. could have used the same set-up as C. B. S. and sent out equally good facsimiles of the N. B. C. Symphony performances; instead it has used a set-up which brings us close to the orchestra where the violins often get to be strident, or in the middle of it where its components are tightly crowded together around us, where the woodwinds sometimes are louder than tuttis, and where the gradations of dynamics and the balances so carefully and laboriously and precisely worked out by Toscanini are destroyed.

This makes it difficult to evaluate the performances—to know, for example, whether one is hearing excessive tension in the performance of the Ninth, or only the tightness and stridency of the transmitted sound.

Two new recordings have been issued of one of Bach's greatest works, the Cantata No. 4 "Christ lag in Todesbanden." The Bach Guild offers a straightforward performance by Viennese musicians under Prohaska; Decca a performance by German musicians under Fritz Lehmann, whose pacing, shaping, and sensitive inflection give it greater expressive power and create more life in the contrapuntal texture. The recorded sound of the Decca performance suffers from occasional distortion, especially near the end of the first side. The Bach Guild record offers also the Cantata No. 140 "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme," one of the works with superb choral passages and less interesting music for the soloists.

Bach's Magnificat is another of the works in which the arias move me less than the choral passages. The Decca record offers a performance by German musicians under Ferdinand Leitner, whose slower tempos are more effective than Shaw's fast ones in the RCA Victor performance of a few years ago (though in one or two instances they are too slow); but the chorus is not good or is poorly reproduced. The soloists, however, are good.

Handel's Te Deum for the Peace of Utrecht and his Coronation Anthem are agreeable but not among his most impressive works. They are excellently performed on a Haydn Society record by Danish musicians under Mogens Wöldike.

Another work that I find unimpressive is Haydn's Missa Solemnis ("Harmoniemesse") in B flat, performed on a Period record by Viennese musicians under Alex Larsen. It is the less effective for the shrill and wobbly singing of the solo soprano, the not much better singing of the solo contralto, and the ear-lacerating recorded sound.

The concert arias of Haydn on a Haydn Society record are good examples of the genre, well sung by Gertraud Hopf, soprano, with the Vienna Symphony under Von Zallinger. The sharp recorded sound requires reduction of treble to minimum.

Schütz's "Musical Exequies" is a recitative-like setting of verses chosen for the purpose by the prince at whose funeral the work was sung. Its interest is entirely in its detail, some—but not all—of which I found impressive. It is well performed on an R. E. B. record, but poorly reproduced: when the volume is right for the soloists the chorus is ear-shattering; and the sharpness requires reduction of treble to minimum.

Mahler's "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen" are beautifully sung by Blanche Thebom with an orchestra under Boult and excellently reproduced by the RCA Victor LP, which offers also Thebom's previously issued performances of Wolf songs.

Mahler's "Das klagende Lied" is an early and immature work that I would recommend skipping. It is well performed by Viennese musicians under Fekete and reproduced with excessive sharpness by the Mercury record.

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Art

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

[*Mr. Faison, who has contributed many reviews of books to these pages during the past few years, has now become* The Nation's *art critic. His column, dealing with current exhibits, will appear every four weeks.*]

SUPPLEMENTING its fall show of paintings, the Whitney Museum of American Art offers its annual spring selection of sculpture, water colors, and drawings (through May 4). There are 72 items in the first classification, 80 in the second, and enough in the third to bring the total to 187, by as many artists. As in its previous shows of this sort, the Whitney is making a serious effort to discover new talent and to keep the work of interesting artists in the public's mind.

With an eye to the recent, and still current, controversy sparked by the protest of the National Sculpture Society to

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the Metropolitan Museum, the director of the Whitney has made it perfectly clear in his foreword to the catalogue on what basis the present exhibition was selected. It does indeed include conservative as well as the most advanced work —Ogden Pleissner's slick Sargent-in-the-rain water color of Avignon is, alphabetically, next to Jackson Pollock's No. 7, 1951. The management has made no attempt to represent all current manners in equal amounts; and if modern art predominates, "it is because it is unquestionably the leading movement in art today, and has exerted the greatest influence on younger artists to whom the Whitney Museum has always been hospitable."

Fair enough: the prevailing idiom is modern. But this is no guaranty against mediocrity, superficiality, and the forced effect. There are plenty of all three in this show, and the sculptors are the worst offenders. Aside from the terrific impact of Roszak's Skylark, a wild, scythe-like skeleton in three-four time, I saw little in the sculpture sections that made me want to linger, or else I had seen similar things represented long ago and elsewhere—Baizerman's powerful recumbent Unknown Soldier, of hammered copper, for instance. Minna Harkavy's Adagio seemed to me an inferior example. The staff of the Whitney selected the pieces shown; but I do not happen to know what there was to select from. In the case of David Smith I do: The Hero is not so large as its size, and it gives as pale an idea of what Smith can do as the Head in the Museum of Modern Art.

As a matter of principle, I prefer to single out for comment only those works which struck me as having something positive to offer, unless it be a lesser example of an artist who generally does. But Archipenko's Exaltation struck me as so little exalted that I cannot forbear comment; it is merely larger than some of the other paperweights in the show. There is something doubly depressing about bad sculpture: the time, the trouble, the expense, and, saddest of all, the permanence.

The water colors run a full gamut from the tender suggestion of Feininger's Houses in Hildesheim—in low-key orange and neutral—to the meaty impasto of James Brooks's No. 3, 1952, in layers, partially superimposed, of red, straw, pale green, and neutral. That this is a "water color" for the spring show rather than a "painting" for the fall show is, it seems to me, chiefly a matter of chemistry. But anyone who has ever organized an art show will have discovered the ridiculous pitfalls of classifications.

I was strongly impressed by John Atherton's Rocky Farmyard, though it may turn out to be too much School of Shahn; while Shahn himself, in Homeric Struggle, seems to be struggling homerically to be different from Shahn. He is an artist I admire, and I honor the struggle without applauding this particular result. Fortunately, Marin's reputation does not have to depend on the Sea Piece here shown. Tchelitchev's Head, except for its queer color, can be found in Renaissance instruction books on perspective, and Gwathmey's Ancestor Worship essays a thin elegance in which he cannot compete with the combination of Charles Demuth and Henry James—whether or not such competition was intended.

Among names new to me, I remember with pleasure works by Hans Moller and Janet Marren.

One memorable wall upstairs features non-objective black-and-whites: Pollock, deKooning, Kline, and Reinhardt. They are separated in the catalogue because Kline, who uses ink on paper, and deKooning, who works in oil on paper, are in the drawing class, while the other two are listed among the water-colorists. But they are properly hung together. It is impressive how strongly four individualities have been projected by nothing but a few black marks on white. The attention the ancient Chinese paid to calligraphy as an element of poetry comes to mind. Of the four, on this occasion Reinhardt seemed to have the greatest staying power. I would seriously like to see his Number 25 beside a Piranesi Prison, because they both achieve something of the same grandeur, though I have no doubt about which is the more resonant.

Across the room there is a small Motherwell drawing, Toledo (presumably not Ohio). I have often admired Motherwell, but this time it's the turn of the little boy who pointed out that the king has no clothes on. Me for Saul Steinberg, whose Cowgirl has plenty of clothes on.

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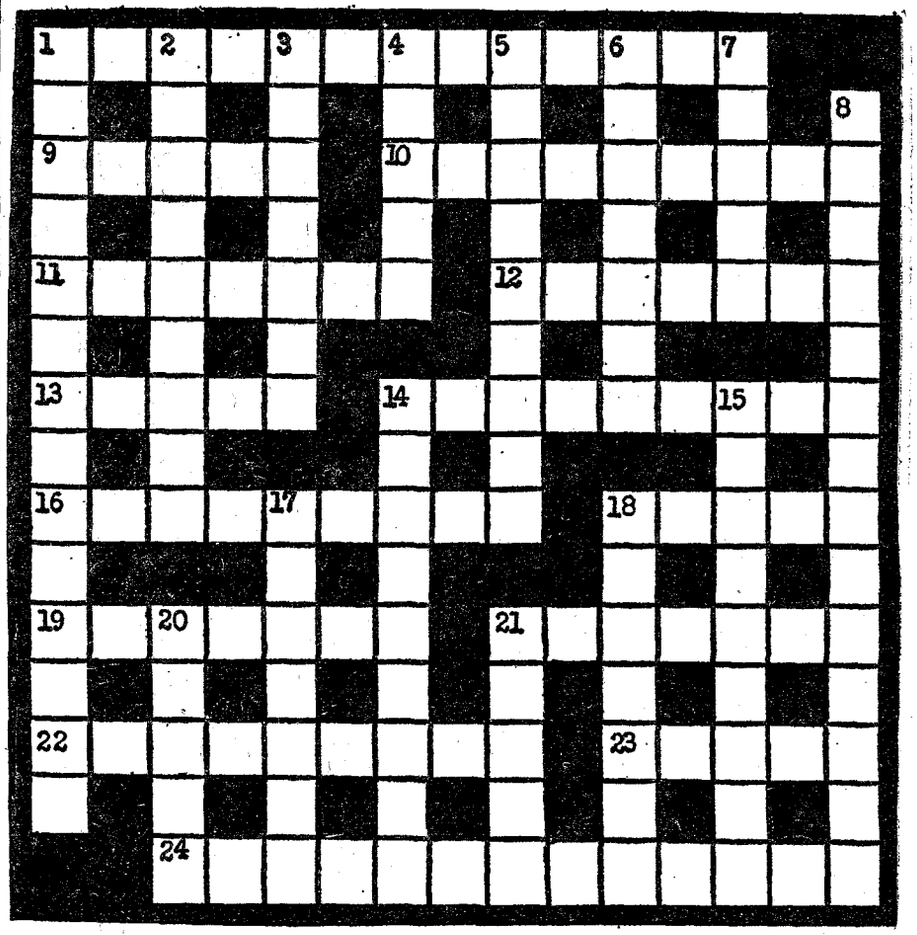

ACROSS

1 See 1 down.
9 A loss? Not when repeated. (5)
10 and 23. An associated expression sounds like a good look with warning, but it's a sort of pit when I drop it. (5, 4, 5)
11 They hold breakfast food. (3, 4)
12 Circumspect. (7)
13 Not certain as death, but no more pleasing. (5)
14 Born 1932; died 1945. (9)
16 Cattlemen find their home with Cupid. (9)
18 The least sort of thing is wrong if you do it. (5)
19 The end pays off with difficult breathing. (7)
21 A drummer does with retreat, but so does everyone else. (5, 2)
22 He wasted a lot of time on reflection. (9)
23 See 10 across.
24 Where the students are used to cutting classes? (6, 7)

DOWN

1 and 1 across. Implying rotten results from saving measures? (5, 3, 3, 3, 5, 3, 5)
2 The way the nag outran another animal? (9)
3 An inlaid sort of gun, but not actively engaged. (7)
4 Spring is found in northern Arizona. (5)
5 Press items from the floor of 24? (9)
6 Acquaintances keep it, if you feel there's sense here. (2, 5)
7 Offensive with military men, but in good taste with Red Cross workers. (5)
8 and 14. Goodfellow's reflection implies all races are silly. (4, 5, 5, 7, 2)
14 See 8.
15 Watch or the toe-tapper does it. (5, 4)
17 The comparatively well-armed would necessarily be. (7)
18 24's clue might describe the place one learns to use it. (7)
20 Not used regularly to clean up. (5)
21 Thus, to a degree, it's fundamental. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 459

ACROSS:—1 SUBSTANDARD; 9 MALINGER; 10 BROKEN; 12 GUSSETS; 14 SEESAW; 15 OPHIDIAN; 17 STALLION; 20 DEPOTS; 22 INSIGHT; 24 AMPERES; 26 CUSTOM; 27 and 11 CARLSBAD CAVERNS; 28 COUNTERPART.

DOWN:—2 and 13 UNIVERSAL JOINT; 3 SAGINAW; 4 AIRS; 5 DEBOUCH; 6 ROOKS; 8 BERTHA; 18 and 16 TONGUE DEPRESSOR; 19 INHUMAN; 20 DEMIREP; 21 TREPAN; 23 IN TWO; 25 ACNE.

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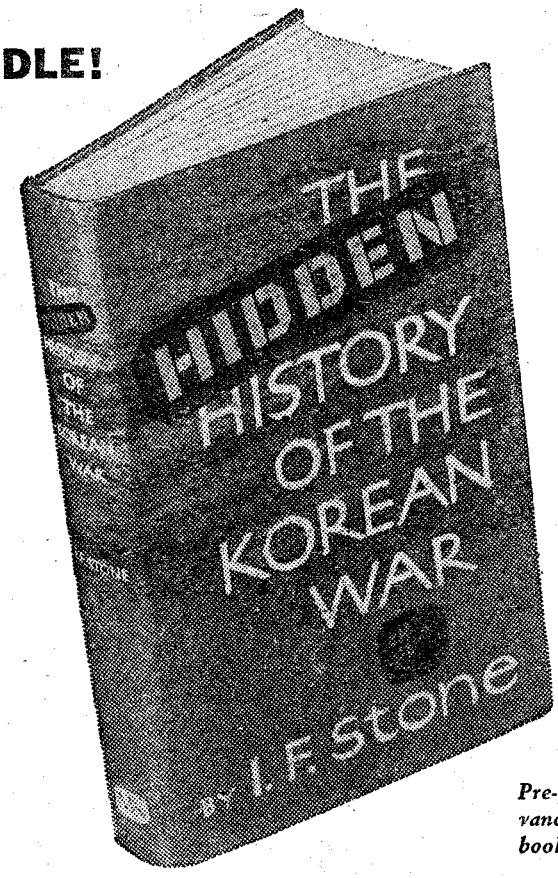

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